

Message Text

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NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY AND UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS FROM
SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT NYERERE MEMORANDUM

1. I HAVE NOW HAD OPPORTUNITY TO READ NYERERE
MEMORANDUM (WHICH ROGERS IS CARRYING BACK). IT
PRESENTS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT PICTURE THAN DID NYERERE
HIMSELF IN CONVERSATION.

2. CONCLUSION READS AS FOLLOWS:

TANZANIA THEREFORE URGES THE FOLLOWING:

--THE MAINTENANCE OF PRESENT BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS
RHODESIA. THIS INVOLVES TAKING NO NEW INITIATIVES,
BUT WAITING FOR THE VARIOUS PRESSURES TO FORCE
SMITH INTO ACCEPTING MAJORITY RULE.

--INCREASED PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE
ACCEPTANCE OF REAL INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA,
AND A RECONSTITUTED CONFERENCE TO THAT END.

--THOSE WHO SEEK TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN
RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WITH A MINIMUM OF BOODSHED
SHOULD NOT MAKE THE FATAL MISTAKE OF TREATING

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SOUTH AFRICA AS IF IT WERE AN ALLY FOR THOSE PURPOSES. THE TASK IS TO PUT PRESSURE ON SMITH OVER RHODESIAAN AND ON SOUTH AFRICA OVER NAMIBIA. AN ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH AFRICA IS UNNECESSARY FOR THE FORMER, AND INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE LATTER.

3. THE MEMO WAS WRITTEN BEFORE OUR TALKS WITH NYERERE AND IT COULD BE THAT HE MIGHT NOW REGARD SITUATION SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY. HE CERTAINLY SHOWED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN CONCEPT OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT WITH BLACK MAJORITY.

4. HOWEVER, IN HIS MEMO HE PLACES EMPHASIS ON LETTING PRESSURES BUILD UP ON SMITH UNTIL HE WCCEPTS MAJORITY RULE. AT SAME TIME HE PROPOSES "NO NEW INITIATIVES". HE DEVOTES ONLY TWO PARAGRAPHS TO NATIONALIST UNITY AND CONCLUDES THAT "WHETHER OR NOT THE POLITICAL LEADERS UNITE AND REGAIN THEIR ROLE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF ZIMBABWE, IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO ENVISAGE AN EARLY END TO THE WAR IN RHODESIA". BUT THENDESPITE "NO NEW INITIATIVES"- HE STATES "IT IS STILL POSSIBLE FOR OTHER STATES TO PLAY A ROLE IN HASTENING THIS DEVELOPMENT.

5. IT WOULD SEEM THAT NYERERE BASES HIS POSITION IN PART ON: (A) VORSTER'S INABILITY TO PUT ANY MORE PRESSURE ON SMITH THAN HE HAS; (B) THE DANGER THAT WESTERN POWERS, BY SEEKING SAG'S HELP, WOULD MAKE IT AN "ALLY" AND THEREFORE PAYING AN UNAC-CEPTABLE PRICE (C) OUR BEING DRAGGED IN SHOULD SAG GET INVOLVED IN DEFENSE OF RHODESIA.

6 FALLACIES IN THIS LINE OF ARGUMENT ARE APPARENT: (A) THE LONGER THE VIOLENCE DRAGS ON THE MORE LIKELY SAG WILL GET INVOLVED: (B) THE AUTOMATIC ASSUMPTION THAT VORSTER CANNOT PUT MORE EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON SMITH HAS NOT BEEN TESTED: (C) AN EARLY END TO THE WAR IN RHODESIA CAN OCCUR WITHOUT NEW INITIATIVES: (D) PUTTING PRESSURE ON SAG TO GAIN NAMIBIAN IN-DEPENDENCE DOES NOT RISK MAKING IT AN "ALLY," WHILE
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DOING THE SAME IN REGARD TO RHODESIA DOES.

7. THE INCONSISTENCES OF SOME OF THE ARGUMENTS IN THE DOCUMENT MAY REFLECT HIS OWN CONFUSION WHAT TO DO IN REGARD TO SOME ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEMS. ON THE OTHER HAND IT MAY BE A KIND OF SIGNAL NOT TO PUSH OUR PLANS TOO FAR. CERTAINLY NYERERE IN CONVERSATION DID NOT ADDRESS HIMSELF TO MANY OF

THOSE DETAILS OF THE PLAN WE ENUNCIATED IN OUR
TALKING POINTS.

8. AFTER YOU HAVE READ THE DOCUMENT FULLY YOUR
MAY WISH TO ADDRESS SOME OF THESE POINTS IN A MESSAGE
TO NYERERE SHOULD YOU DECIDE TO SEND ONE.

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